

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, YO

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI'S CALL ON UNDER SECRETARY
HABIB

1. AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI CALLED ON UNDER SECRETARY HABIB
ON AUGUST 3 TO DISCUSS THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS OF
US-GOY RELATIONSHIPS. BELOVSKI BEGAN BY EMPHASIZING
THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO GIVE FOLLOWING DEMARCHE
WHICH HE READ. HE REITERATED GOY DESIRE FOR GOOD
RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE JOINT PRESIDENTIAL
DECLARATION OF 1971, MUTUAL RESPECT AND NON-INTERFERENCE.
HOWEVER, WHILE THE PRESENT US-PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST
YUGOSLAVIA IS NOT THE FIRST ONE, IT IS CONVEYING THE
MESSAGE THAT "PRESSURE ON YUGOSLAVIA PAYS OFF."

2. THE GOY, BELOVSKI CONTINUED, WAS SURPRISED AND
CONCERNED THAT US OFFICIAL PERSONALITIES ARE ENGAGED,
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I.E. ZARB'S REMARKS ABOUT THE ARREST OF DUAL NATIONALS
IN YUGOSLAVIA AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE GOY BICEN-
TENNIAL GIFT AND ARMITAGE'S INTRODUCTION OF THIS
SUBJECT WHEN BELOVSKI BROUGHT IN DISTINGUISHED VISITOR.
(IN ASIDE HE SAID ZARB TOLD HIM STATEMENT INSERTED AT

INSISTENCE OF STATE DEPARTMENT.) ALSO, AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN MISUSED THE GATHERING OF AMERICAN AND YUGOSLAV BUSINESSMEN AT BLEND. HE INAPPROPRIATELY CONCENTRATED HIS REMARKS ON THE ARRESTS OF DUAL NATIONALS IN

CONTRADICTION TO THE SPIRIT OF THE OCCASION. MOREOVER, THE GOY CONSIDERED AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN'S SUBSEQUENT AIRPORT STATEMENT ON THE PARDON AND FREEING OF TOTH OUT OF PLACE, TOTALLY NEGATIVE AND UNACCEPTABLE.

3. THERE HAVE BEEN ACTS AGAINST YUGOSLAV PERSONS AND PROPERTY IN THE US, BELOVSKI CONTINUED, BUT NOT ONE OF THE PERPETRATORS HAS BEEN CAUGHT. YET THE GOY HAS NEVER INSTIGATED A PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE US IN THE YUGOSLAV PRESS. AFTER TOTH WAS FREED, THE GOY WOULD HAVE EXPECTED ANY US REACTION BUT THE PRESENT US PRESS CAMPAIGN. THE GOY ENERGETICALLY DENIES THAT TOTH WAS RELEASED UNDER PRESSURE. THE GOY NEVER HAS AND NEVER WILL DO ANYTHING UNDER PRESSURE. IT IS NOT TRUE, BELOVSKI STATED, THAT AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN HELPED FREE TOTH. ON THE CONTRARY, THE AMBASSADOR'S IRRESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR ONLY MADE THE CASE MORE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE AND COMPLICATED THE FREEING OF TOTH. THE GOY EMPHASIZES THAT ANY FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT PRESSURE SIMILAR TO AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN'S REGARDING OTHER CASES WILL BE CATEGORICALLY REJECTED.

4. CONCLUDING HIS PRESENTATION, BELOVSKI STATED THAT IT WAS NOT INCIDENTAL THAT THE PRESENT US PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA WAS TAKING PLACE JUST BEFORE THE NAC SUMMIT AT COLOMBO. THE GOY PERCEIVES THIS CAMPAIGN AS PRESSURE ON ITS NON-ALIGNED POLICIES. THESE ANTI-YUGOSLAV ACTIVITIES WILL MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT TO CONTINUE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE ON NAC ISSUES. FINALLY, BELOVSKI STATED, IN HIS REFERENCES TO AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN, HE WAS TRANSMITTING HIS SECRET

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GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS AND NOT HIS PERSONAL FEELINGS.

5. HABIB BEGAN HIS REPLY BY STATING THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PRESSURE THE GOY IN NON-ALIGNED ISSUES THROUGH THE TOTH CASE. WHAT THE USG HAS DONE ON THE TOTH CASE IS TO ACT TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ONE OF ITS CITIZENS - A TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC RESPONSIBILITY. MOREOVER, WE NEED NOT REASSURE THE GOY THAT WE TOO CONDUCT OUR POLICY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE 1971 JOINT DECLARATION. BUT WE ALSO CONDUCT OUR POLICY ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY AND ON THE EXPECTATION THAT RECIPROCITY WILL BE THE BASIS FOR THE CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

6. WITH RESPECT TO THE "US PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA," HABIB CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THE IMPLICATION THAT THE USG HAD INSTIGATED IT; AND,

PARTICULARLY, HE CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THE IMPLICATION THAT SUCH A CAMPAIGN WAS AIMED AT PRESSURING THE GOY ON NON-ALIGNED ISSUES. (HABIB ASKED THE AMBASSADOR TO BE SURE TO CONVEY THIS TO HIS MINISTRY.) THE USG IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTENTION THE US MEDIA HAS GIVEN TO THIS ISSUE. WHAT THE AMERICAN PRESS HAS WRITTEN IS NOT THE RESULT OF USG CAMPAIGN NOR DOES IT NECESSARILY REFLECT USG VIEWS. THE USG CONVEYS ITS VIEWS THROUGH PROPER DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. WE HAD ALSO MADE OUR VIEWS CLEAR IN THE DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT OF JULY 31, A COPY OF WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN TO FSFA AND YUGOSLAV EMBASSY.

7. REGARDING AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN'S STATEMENT AT THE SIRPORT ON TOTH'S RELEASE, HABIB STATED THE AMBASSADOR HAD SAID OUR RELATIONS ARE BETTER AND BASED ON CERTAIN, FUNDAMENTAL LONG TERM INTERESTS. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN HAS IN NO WAY DEGRADED OUR RELATIONSHIP, CRITICIZED GOY FOREIGN POLICY, ATTEMPTED TO PRESSURE THE GOY ON NON-ALIGNED ISSUES OR SAID THAT "PRESSURE ON YUGOSLAVIA PAYS OFF," AS ALLEGED BY BELOVSKI. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN BELGRADE HAS CONFUSED PRESS COMMENTARY FOR WHAT AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN ACTUALLY SAID. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WHAT

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AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN SAID OR DID WAS IMPROPER. ON THE TOTH CASE WE AND GOY EACH HAD OUR VIEWS. THE CASE INVOLVED A LONG AND INTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF ISSUES. BUT SUCH DISCUSSIONS ARE NORMAL IN DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES.

8. HABIB SAID HE BELIEVED THAT WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH POLEMICS OVER THE TOTH CASE. IT IS TIME TO PUT THIS ISSUE BEHIND US. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE FRANK EXCHANGES AND PROCEED WITH THE TASK OF IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO BOTH OF US. THESE RELATIONS ARE NOT HELPED BY CONTINUED PUBLIC DEBATE.

9. AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT HE TOO DESIRED A NORMALIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AND A SEARCH FOR LARGER FIELDS OF COOPERATION. BUT WHY ALL THE AMERICAN FUROR? IN RELEASING TOTH, THE GOY MADE A GESTURE OF GOOD WILL. IS IT NOT NORMAL TO BE APPRECIATED? WHY, THEN, ALL THIS UPROAR? WHY DID THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE PERMIT SUCH AN OUTBURST? HABIB REPLIED THAT THE OUTBURST AND UPROAR WAS CONSEQUENCE OF PRESS INTEREST WHICH, AS HE HAD STATED, THE USG DOES NOT CONTROL. BELOVSKI REJOINED THAT HE WAS NOT REFERRING TO THE PRESS

BUT TO AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN'S AIRPORT STATEMENT IMPLYING THAT "PRESSURE IN YUGOSLAVIA PAYS OFF." HABIB AGAIN REJECTED THIS INTERPRETATION OF AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN'S

REMARKS. BUT WHY ASKED BELOVSKI, COULD YOU NOT HAVE QUIETLY ACCEPTED TOTH'S RELEASE? WHY DID THE DEPARTMENT NOT DECIDE THAT "GOOD, TOTH IS FREE, LETS KEEP QUIET." HABIB REPLIED THAT THE AMERICAN PRESS FOUND THE MATTER WORTHY OF COMMENT AND OF IMPORTANCE TO AMERICAN SENTIMENTS ABOUT INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. BUT WHY, ASKED BELOVSKI, DID THE DEPARTMENT NOT STATE THAT ANTI-YUGOSLAV VIEWS IN THE PRESS DID NOT REFLECT THE USG'S VIEWS? HABIB REPLIED THAT THE DEPARTMENT ON JULY 31 HAD IN ITS STATEMENT MADE CLEAR ITS VIEWS WHICH WERE NOT ANTI-YUGOSLAV BUT ON CONTRARY HAD EMPHASIZED THAT OUR RELATIONS SHOULD DEVELOP POSITIVELY ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS AND WITH MUTUAL RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS. MOREOVER, HABIB SAID, HE ESPECIALLY RESENTED THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE STATEMENT. SECRET

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TION THAT THE US GOVERNMENT WAS MOUNTING A CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE AMERICAN PRESS. HE HOPED BELOVSKI WOULD REASSURE HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY IN THIS REGARD.

10. HABIB WENT ON TO STATE THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO REITERATE FOUR POINTS: (A) THE USG HAS NOT INSTIGATED A PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ON YUGOSLAVIA; (B) THE USG HAS NOT INSTIGATED A PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA; (C) THE USG DOES NOT LINK THE TOTH CASE WITH NON-ALIGNED ISSUES AND THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT; AND (D) WE ASK YOU BRING TO YOUR FOREIGN MINISTRY'S ATTENTION THAT CERTAIN STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN ARE INCORRECT. AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT HE WOULD SO REPORT TO HIS GOVERNMENT BUT THAT NEVERTHELESS THE MESSAGE THAT "PRESSURE ON YUGOSLAVIA PAYS OFF" WAS CLEARLY IMPLIED IN THE REMARKS AND BEHAVIOR RESULTING FROM THE TOTH CASE. YUGOSLAVIA IS VERY SENSITIVE ABOUT EXTERNAL PRESSURES. IT WILL REJECT ANY AND ALL SUCH ATTEMPTS. ANY PRESSURE ON YUGOSLAVIA WILL PROVE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. HABIB REITERATED THAT THE USG DOES NOT SEEK TO PRESSURE YUGOSLAVIA BUT THAT WHEN ISSUES ARISE THEY MUST BE DISCUSSED. STILL, BELOVSKI ASKED, WHY DID WE ALLOW THIS ISSUE TO AFFECT OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP? GOY STATED IN JANUARY IT WOULD FREE TOTH. HE CAN ACCEPT THAT THE USG IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE AMERICAN PRESS CAMPAIGN BUT HIS GOVERNMENT THINKS IT IS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT AT COLOMBO. HABIB STATED AGAIN THAT THERE WAS NO CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TOTH CASE AND NON-ALIGNED ISSUES. BELOVSKI STATED THAT IT WAS IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESS CAMPAIGN NOT CONTINUE. HABIB REPLIED THAT WE HOPED HIS GOVERNMENT IN ITS STATEMENTS WOULD BE AS

SENSITIVE TO THE IMPACT THIS ISSUE WOULD HAVE ON OUR
RELATIONSHIPS AS WE HAD BEEN IN OUR STATEMENT.
BELOVSKI SAID WHILE WE HAD GOTTEN TOTH BACK, ALL YUGOSLAVIA
HAD GOTTEN WAS A SERIES OF INSULTING PRESS ARTICLES WHICH
PROVOKED AMERICANS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA. HABIB STATED THAT
HE COULD NOT DENY THAT RECENT PRESS COVERAGE WAS CRITICAL,
BUT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT AMBASSADOR
SILBERMAN HAD ACTED IMPROPERLY. IT IS TIME TO PUT
POLEMICS BEHIND US AND GET ON WITH THE TASK OF BUILDING
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A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WHICH WAS IN THE
INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

11. IN CONCLUSION, BELOVSKI RAISED THE SUBJECT OF RECENT
ATTACKS ON YUGOSLAV PERSONS AND PROPERTIES IN THE UNITED
STATES. COULD THE DEPARTMENT INFORM HIM OF ANY RESULTS
OF THE FBI INVESTIGATION? HABIB REPLIED THAT WE HAD
TODAY (AUG. 3) ASKED FOR A DETAILED STATUS REPORT FROM
THE FBI AND WOULD PERSIST TO ASSURE A CONTINUING AND
VIGOROUS EFFORT ON FBI'S PART. BELOVSKI STATED THAT HE
WAS TRYING TO CONVINCE HIS GOVERNMENT THAT WE WERE
BEING MORE VIGOROUS THAN EVER. HABIB AGAIN ASSURED
HIM THAT OUR VIGOR AND DILIGENCE WERE GREATER THAN EVER
IN PURSUIT OF THIS CASE. KISSINGER

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